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## Barriers and the Null Subject Parameter in Modern Greek.\*

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Modern Greek, a null-subject language without infinitivals, like other languages of the Balkan peninsula, shows syntactic patterns which seem problematic for major principles of GB: a) Raising and passivization from the subject of finite clauses, b) Nominative anaphors in embedded subject position, and c) Exceptional Case Marking of this position, as seen in section 1. In 2 I argue that two independent properties of INFL combine to account for these apparently problematic phenomena, without modification of the theory. First, the Null subject Parameter and its effect on the Case module allows the formation of a licit (one or several-membered) A-chain, visible for the Theta-criterion in situations a), and c). Second, the Agreeing COMP-INFL Parameter, and its effect on the determination of barriers in the Government module makes the embedded subject position accessible across CP and IP to government from the matrix, for the ECP, the Binding Theory, and Case-marking, under strict adjacency in the last instance.

**1. Data.**<sup>1</sup> Several syntactic patterns suggest that the subject of an embedded finite CP-complement is transparent to government from outside its clause.

**1.1.** Modern Greek shows raising-into-subject from unreduced finite CP-complements in the indicative, as shown by the word order and person-number agreement in the matrix V in (1b) and (3b), or in the Subjunctive with the preverbal particle na (=SUBJ(unctive)) in (2b) and (4b), when verbs such as phaínetai "appear" and moíázei "look like" take both types of complement. Sentences (1a-4a) are the counterparts with no movement. A verb such as tuXaínei "happen" disallows Indicatives, and patterns like (3a-3b). Raising from Infinitives is, of course, unavailable.

## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

- (1) a. Phaínetai [óti oi ánthropoi douleúoun]<sup>2</sup>  
Seem-3sg that the men work-3pl "It seems that the men are working" (INDICATIVE COMPLEMENT)  
b. Oi ánthropoi phaínontai [óti t douleúoun]  
The men seem-3pl that work-3pl Lit. The men seem that are working "The men seem to be working"
- (2) a. Moiázei [óti oi ánthropoi douleúoun]  
Look-like-3sg that the men work-3pl "It looks like the men are working" (INDICATIVE COMPLEMENT)  
b. Oi ánthropoi moiázoun [óti t douleúoun]  
The men look-like-3pl that work-3pl
- (3) a. Phaínetai [oi ánthropoi na douleúoun]  
Seem-3sg the men SUBJ work-3pl "It seems that the men are working" (SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENT)  
b. Oi ánthropoi phaínontai [t na douleúoun]  
The men seem-3pl SUBJ work-3pl
- (4) a. Moiázei [oi ánthropoi na douleúoun]  
Look-like-3sg the men SUBJ work-3pl  
b. Oi ánthropoi moiázoun [t na douleúoun]  
The men look-like-3pl SUBJ work-3pl

Patterns such as Oi ánthropoi phaínetai [ {óti/na} douleúoun] and Phaínetai oi ánthropoi [óti douleúoun], where the NP is outside the embedded clause, and agrees with the embedded V exclusively, are grammatical too, but unrelated to NP-movement. Rather, they resemble dislocations with an embedded null subject, as in pro-drop languages without raising from finite clauses (Spanish Los hombres parece que trabajan "The men, it seems that they are working" vs. \*Los hombres parecen que trabajan "The men seem that (they) work" (Rivero 1980)). If the obligatory middle-passive morphology of phaínomai indicates general lack of assignment of a thematic role to its subject position, constructions such as Phaínomai? "I am visible? Can you see me?" can receive a parallel treatment: they result from the movement of the NP object-as-Theme to subject, within the unaccusative (Perlmutter 1978) or ergative structure (Burzio 1981) of a unitary V.<sup>3</sup>

In Modern Greek, Indicative complements are introduced by óti, (1-2), or pos "that", while Subjunctive clauses lack a complementizer with phonological content, and have the inflectional particle na which follows the subject if preverbal, (3a-4a), and is closely attached to the inflected verb, so that only the Subjunctive negation min and the pronominal clitics may separate the two. Oti/pos cannot cooccur with na, even though they appear with the very similar item tha used in the future tense. Thus, in contrast with both (1a) and (3a), \*Phaínetai [óti oi ánthropoi na douleúoun] is deviant, while Phaínetai [óti oi ánthropoi tha douleúoun] "It seems that the men will work" is grammatical. If the inflectional item tha correlates with Indicative complementizers, na is the Subjunctive particle signalling a complementizer void of phonological material, but with features distinguishing it from óti/pos; for quite different reasons, Joseph (1986a) adopts a similar analysis, which he credits to unpublished work by Philippaki-Warbuton. Rumanian makes parallel distinctions in its C-system, but the Subjunctive ca alternates with the null option.

## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

If the Greek Subj C is not featureless, the complements in (1-4) are uniformly as in (5), and NP-movement proceeds through the CP-IP path in all cases.

- (5) ...V<sub>CP</sub> [ C IP[ NP<sub>i</sub> [ I VP ]]]

1.2. With some verbs with verbal passive morphology, such as pisteúo "believe", or anaméno "hope", the subject of the CP-complement may be passivized, as in (6b) and (7b). Although periméno is synonymous with anaméno, it disallows this lexically specified process.

- (6) a. Pisteúo [ óti [ oi ánthropoi eínai phíloi mou ]]  
I-believe that the men are friends of-mine  
b.? Oi ánthropoi pisteúontai [ óti [ t eínai phíloi mou ]]  
The men are believed that are friends of-mine  
"The men are believed to be my friends"
- (7) a. O Giánnis anaménei [[ ta paidiá na phúgoun ]]  
The John expect-3s the children SUBJ leave-3pl  
b. Ta paidiá anaménontai [ ø [ t na phúgoun ]]  
The children are expected SUBJ leave-3pl  
"The children are expected to leave"

If verbal passive morphology absorbs the th-role otherwise assigned to the subject (Chomsky 1981 and later work), the patterns in (6b) and (7b) are parallel to those with raising, and movement proceeds across the CP-IP path into a non-th position, as above. For reasons given for Exceptional Case Marking in 1.4, it seems unlikely that pisteúo "believe" and anaméno "expect" subcategorize for a NP-complement plus a clause. In particular, \*Pisteúo tous anthrópous óti eínai phíloi mou, with a bare Accusative NP following the main V and preceding óti, is impossible.

A verb such as gnorízo "know" lacks the verbal passives in (6b-7b); instead, it correlates with structures with to be and an adjective (adjectival passives), as in (8c); these disallow the NP-movement in (6b-7b), as seen in (8d).

- (8) a. Gnorízo [ óti [ o Giánnis eínai phílos mou ]]  
I-know that the John is friend of-mine  
b. \*Gnorízetai [ óti [ o Giánnis eínai phílos mou ]]  
c. Eínai gnostó  
It-is known-NEUTER  
"It is known that John is my friend"  
d. \*O Giánnis eínai gnostós [ óti [ t eínai phílos mou ]]  
John is known-MASC that is friend of-mine]]

If adjectival passives have th-subjects (Levin and Rappaport 1986 for recent discussion), (8d) is ruled out by the Th-criterion, contrary to (6b-7b). Also, there are no Modern Greek "raising" adjectives; this too suggests that adjectivals assign th-roles to their external argument, so that movement into such a position is not permitted. If this is correct, the constructions in (1b) through (7b) should not receive an analysis with an embedded subject pro (a null pronominal argument), which would require a weakening of the Th-criterion; this contrasts with proposals

## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

by Lappin (1984) for English John seems as if he is happy (and see 2.2). Also, the same reasons militate against the updating of the Copy-raising treatment in terms of pro: a rule leaving a pronominal copy of the raised NP ((Joseph 1976), as in the analysis for dislocations in (Ross 1967)). Finally, structures such as O Giánnis eínai gnostó óti eínai phílos mou, where "known" is Neuter, are well-formed, in contrast with (8d); however, the lack of gender agreement between initial NP and following adjective suggests dislocation, as for phaínetai above.

1.3. Modern Greek allows the nominative reflexive o eautós tou (lit. himself) in embedded subject position, (9a), as pointed out by Joseph (1976). It has the emphatic sense usually noticed for lexical pronominals, (9b), which need not be coreferential with the higher NP. As far as I can tell, patterns like (9a) are very acceptable to educated speakers of various ages; the phenomenon is excluded in traditional grammars of Modern Greek, perhaps because the classical language was restricted to non-nominative reflexives such as seautón, favoured in formal styles as well.

- (9) a. O Giánnis; pisteúí [ óti [ o eautós tou; eínai phílos mou]]  
 The John thinks that the-NOM self-NOM of-his  
 is friend of-mine  
 Lit. John thinks that himself is my friend  
 b. O Giánnis; pisteúí [óti [autós; eínai phílos mou]]  
 The John<sub>i</sub> thinks that he<sub>i,j</sub> is friend my  
 "John thinks that he is my friend"

The reflexive in (9a) is identical, except in morphological case-marking, to the non-nominative anaphors which clearly fall under principle A of the Binding Theory, (10a), and there are reasons to consider it an anaphor too, as suggested by the position of the NP-trace in the previous constructions.<sup>4</sup>

- (10) a. O Giánnis ktúpise ton eautó(n) tou  
 The John-NOM hurt the-ACC self-ACC of-his  
 "John hurt himself (willingly)"  
 b. O Giánnis ktúpise autón  
 The John-NOM hurt he-ACC "John hurt him"

A number of properties separate Modern Greek from languages where nominative anaphors are absent, such as Spanish, leading to the conclusion that o eautós tou is an anaphoric expression in A-position irrespective of case. As seen in 2, the anaphor in (9a) occupies a transparent position vis-à-vis the matrix clause, and satisfies Binding Theory requirements in the more encompassing domain, while Case-marked in the embedded clause. In Spanish this transparency is absent; the nominative él mismo shares the morphological make-up of non-nominative anaphors (sí mismo "himself"), but functions as an (emphatic) pronominal when in embedded subject position, and is free to corefer or not, in contrast with Modern Greek:

- (11) Juan<sub>i</sub> cree [que [{él<sub>i,j</sub> / él mismo<sub>i,j</sub>} lo hará]]  
 "John thinks that he will do it"

Also, Greek distinguishes between anaphors in A-position and emphatic

## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

expressions which in the Romance literature are labelled (nominative) anaphors in non-A position (Burzio 1981 and later work); it excludes o eautós tou from this use, as in the contrast between (13) and the word order patterns in (12), where o ídios "the same" is equivalent to Romance non-A anaphors. As seen in (14), Spanish fails to make parallel distinctions.

- (12) a. O Giánnis o ídios to ékane  
The-NOM John-NOM the-NOM same-NOM it did  
b. O ídios o Giánnis to ékane "John himself did it" (=a-c)  
c. O Giánnis to ékane o ídios  
(13) a. \*O Giánnis o eautós tou to ékane  
b. \*O eautós tou o Giánnis to ékane  
c. \*O Giánnis to ékane o eautós tou  
(14) a. Juan lo hizo {él/ él mismo} "John did it himself"

From this, it must be concluded that o eautós tou in (9a) is a nominative anaphor in A-position, and not, for example, an emphatic non-A expression in apposition to a null item.

The same follows from clitic doubling, as in (15a), to be compared with (10a). Doubling with a pronominal is as in (15b), corresponding to (10b):

- (15) a. O Giánnis ton ktúpise ton eautó tou  
The John-NOM C1-ACC hurt the-ACC self-ACC of-his  
"John (willingly) hurt himself"  
b. O Giánnis ton ktúpise autón  
The John-NOM C1-ACC hurt he-ACC "John hurt him"

Modern Greek has no reflexive clitic like Romance se/si; the ton-clitics in (15a-b) indicate person/case/number/gender, but lack the features [pronominal] or [anaphor], and are able to double any type of NP: pronominals, anaphors, and R-expressions. The clitic and the doubled phrase do not form a discontinuous pronominal/anaphor, as often suggested for Spanish doubling of pronominals/reflexives (Juan lo admira a él "John admires him" vs. Juan se admira a sí mismo "John admires himself"). Rather, the Greek clitic is similar to an agreement marker failing to contribute information relevant to the Binding Theory, which is determined by the features of the doubled phrase alone; in (15a) the A-position filled with the reflexive signals the presence of an anaphor, as it does in (9a). In brief, that NP-movement proceeds from the subject of a finite clause suggests that nominative reflexives are anaphors in A-position, with requirements satisfied in the matrix domain. Since reflexives are excluded as non-A anaphors, and they alone trigger Principale A of the Binding Theory in clitic doubling, the conclusion is reinforced.

Within this approach, Rizzi's theory (1986) for pro-identification allows (16a) to be analysed as (16b), with the clitic providing features for 3rd person/singular/masculine, not those for the pronominal/anaphoric nature of the EC, as above:

- (16) a. O Giánnis ton ktúpise "John hurt him"  
The John C1-ACC hurt  
b. O Giánnis ton ktúpise pro

## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

For doubling patterns like (15b), Aoun (1981) suggests that Modern Greek clitics are not Case-absorbers, so that the NP is Case-marked by the V. In contrast, in parallel Spanish patterns the preposition *a* is the saving device for the Case filter because of the absorption effect of accusative clitics (Jaeggli 1986 and work cited there): *Lo vi a Juan* "I-saw John" vs. *\*La vi la mesa* "I-saw the table". If Greek clitics do not absorb Case, the EC in (16) must be *pro* (not an anaphor), because it is locally licensed through Case-assignment by V, in Rizzi's sense. *\*Me ktúpisa* "(I) hurt me" is excluded as a Binding Theory violation, since the identification procedure forces a null pronominal (*\*Me ktúpisa pro*), while the clitic must provide the (conflicting) first person singular features also found in the (null) subject; thus, there is no reflexive use for clitics doubling an empty category in Modern Greek.

1.4. The final phenomenon I examine is the alternating Case pattern in (17), which has attracted much attention in the generative literature on Modern Greek (beginning with Joseph 1976, whose work has been very useful to me, even though my proposals differ). I argue that (17b) is an instance of Exceptional Case Marking, in view of the transparency of the subject of finite complements for relations from outside the clause. Under such approach, the analysis for (17a-b) is as in (18), dispensing with the need for Copy-Raising-to-object analyses (Joseph 1976, 1986b, Kakouriotis 1980), and/or the appeal to two subcategorizations frames for Vs such as *thélo* "want" (Kakouriotis 1980) -one with a NP-complement plus the clause-, which appear unmotivated by lexical structure, and the projection of the X-bar system.

- (17) a. *O Giánnis thélei i María na exetásei*  
 The John-NOM wants the-NOM Mary-NOM SUBJ examine-3sg  
*tin kóri mou*  
 the-ACC daughter-ACC of-mine  
 b. *O Giánnis thélei ti María na exetásei tin kóri mou*  
 the-ACC Mary-ACC  
 "John wants Mary to examine my daughter" =(17a-b)

- (18) ... *thélei* [CPØ [IP NP *na* V NP ]]

Also, if strict adjacency is required for Case-assignment, as often argued since Stowell (1981), ECM should be found for (preverbal) subject NPs within Subjunctive complements exclusively, as in (17b). Indicative clauses contain a C<sup>0</sup> with *óti/pos* which will block Case Assignment by the matrix V; the Subjunctive C<sup>0</sup> is phonologically null, with no blocking effect. Postverbal embedded subjects are not adjacent to the matrix V. Since no adjacency is imposed by modules such as the Binding Theory, the nominative anaphor in the Indicative clause in (9a), or the NP-traces in the raising constructions need not comply with this additional requirement. Nevertheless, the explanation for the phenomena in this section is unitary, as seen in 2.

The Raising-into-Object analysis leads to a violation of the Th-criterion, and is unnecessary under the proposals in 2. Also, I argue that no barrier intervenes between the preverbal subject and the Case-marker external to CP; thus, there is no need for the NP target of ECM to move to a topic-like position to be accessible to the matrix V, as suggested by Philippaki-Warbuton (1985) (this does

## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

not imply that a topic cannot receive ECM). The idea that thélo "want" has two (internal) arguments, a NP and a clause, is problematic when this V is contrasted with káno "make", with apparently identical alternating Case patterns, but arguably two different lexical structures. This leads to the conclusion that (17b) is as in (18), establishing the existence of ECM.

First, consider the lexical frame of thélo "want". Speakers are in total agreement in finding (17a-b) synonymous, while rejecting a purposive reading along the lines of I want Mary in order for her to examine my daughter for (17b) (contra Kakouriatis (1980)). Similar comments apply to the parallel Rumanian Am vrut-o pe Maria să citească o carte (ECM as shown by pe and clitic doubling) vs. Am vrut (ca) Maria să citească o carte (no ECM); these are interpreted as "I wanted Mary to read a book", and can be treated along the lines of Modern Greek. In Spanish, which prohibits ECM effects in this and other environments, \*Quiero a María que lea un libro "I want Mary-ACC that (she) read a book" is impossible. This suggests that there is no (internal) NP-argument in the matrix, since it plays no role, and that thélo, a vrea, and querer do not project a frame with NP followed by CP; the structures with transitive want, a NP object, and an adjunct null-subject purpose clause, which exist in the three languages, are unrelated to (17).

The situation for káno is different, and two lexical frames are justified in view of the syntactic and semantic properties of a language with no ECM into Subjunctives, such as Spanish. The first frame is equivalent to English make in the sense "cause an event to occur"; the second is akin to English force, requiring an animate NP complement. Still, within the first frame, which is similar to that of thélo in (18), ECM operates. Consider (19) and (20).

- (19) a. O Giánnis ékane tin diálexi na eínai  
 John made the-ACC lecture-ACC SUBJ be  
endiaphérousa  
 interesting-NOM
- b. O Giánnis ékane i diálexi na eínai endiaphérousa  
 the-NOM lecture-NOM
- c. O Giánnis ékane na eínai endiaphérousa i diálexi  
 lecture-NOM  
 "John made the lecture be interesting"
- (20) a. O Giánnis ékane tous mathités na milísoun  
 The John made the-ACC students-ACC SUBJ speak-3pl  
Galliká  
 French
- b. O Giánnis ékane oi mathités na milísoun Galliká  
 the-NOM students-NOM
- c. O Giánnis ékane na milísoun Galliká oi mathités  
 the-NOM students-NOM  
 "John made the students speak French" (=19a-c, but see discussion)



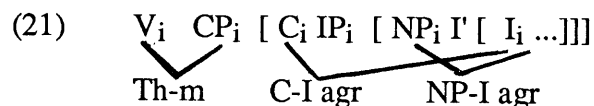
## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

Patterns (19a-c) are synonymous; káno "make" takes a sentential complement with inanimate NP as subject, and optional ECM, when this NP is strictly adjacent to the matrix V, (19a), along the lines of thélo "want". In Rumanian, inanimate NPs are not preceded by the accusative marker pe, and Ns do not show NOM/ACC case, so that the equivalents of (19a-b) are morphologically identical, and fail to show if ECM has applied; however, a different test reveals the accessibility of the subject within this frame: the matrix a face "make" can be passivized, allowing the movement of the embedded NP, as in Cartea nu a putut fi făcută [t să fie interesantă] = The-book not could be made [t SUBJ be interesting] "The book could not be made interesting" (and see (Rivero 1987) for discussion)). Modern Greek káno has no passive, so this second test is inapplicable.

Although (20a-b-c) are synonymous too, (20a) has an additional reading along the lines of force, suggesting that the animate NP may receive a th-role from the matrix V, so that the case on the students may result from lexical structure, not just ECM. This finds cross-linguistic justification in Spanish, where the reading is associated with Juan hizo a los estudiantes [que hablaran francés], with the animate NP outside the empty-subject Subjunctive (the V NP CP frame), while the patterns corresponding to (20b-c) have que "that" marking the boundaries of the Subjunctive clause with Nominative subject (the V CP frame): Juan hizo [que los estudiantes hablaran francés] vs. [que hablaran francés los estudiantes]. Also, corresponding to (19) Spanish has Juan hizo [que la conferencia fuera interesante] vs. [que fuera interesante la conferencia], but not \*Juan hizo (a) la conferencia [que fuera interesante] (only the V CP frame). However, the appeal to general properties of lexical structure in (20a) does not eliminate the need for ECM with thélo "want", and one of the frames of káno "make"; rather, it provides indirect motivation for it.

**2. Analysis.** Two aspects relating to INFL provide the formal explanation behind the various phenomena presented in the previous section: a) the morphological agreement I shares with C, and b) its properties in relation to the Null Subject Parameter.

**2.1.** The morphological agreement between C and I in Modern Greek (the Agreeing COMP-INFL parameter) is the essential link allowing potential barriers to be voided for external government of the subject within the CP-structure. This is obtained by combining the effects of 1) Th-marking between the matrix V and its CP complement (Stowell 1981), with the index percolating to C<sup>0</sup>, 2) Agreement between C<sup>0</sup> and I<sup>0</sup> as another instance of index sharing, with the index percolating to IP as X<sup>max</sup>, and 3) the usual agreement relation between I<sup>0</sup> and its NP specifier. If coindexation is unique, and a substantive relation (Chomsky 1986b, Stowell 1986, Williams 1980, among others), the V and the NP in (21) will be coindexed by transitivity, and no barrier will separate them, according to the definitions in (22), taken from, or in the spirit of, Chomsky (1986b). Thus, maximal projections are not inherent barriers to government per se (Stowell 1981, Kayne 1983, among others), and a sequence of them may be exempted from barrierhood through an appropriate relation with a c-commanding lexical head.



## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

- (22) I. Government: A governs B iff (i) A c-commands B, and (ii) there is no G, G a barrier for B, such that G dominates B but does not dominate A.
- II. C-command (Aoun and Sportiche 1983): A c-commands B iff every maximal projection that dominates A dominates B.
- III. Barrier: G is a barrier for B iff (i) or (ii). (i) G immediately dominates D, D a B(locking) C(ategory) for B. (ii) G is BC for B,  $G \neq IP$ .
- IV. Blocking Category: Where G is a maximal projection, G is a BC for B iff B is not L-marked and G dominates B.
- V. L-marking: Where A is a lexical category, A L-marks B iff B agrees with the head of G that is Theta-governed by A.
- VI. Theta-government: A Th-governs B iff A is a zero-level category that Th-marks B, and A, B are sisters.

**2.1.1** Abstracting from Minimality for the moment (see 2.1.2), the V in (21) head-governs the NP. This is because IP is L-marked by V, thanks to its agreement with the head of CP which is Th-governed by V. Then, IP is not a BC for the NP, preventing the inheritance of barrierhood by CP; as a consequence, no barrier separates V from NP, even though CP and IP are in the coindexation path. Also, through chain-coindexation, V meets the properties of antecedent governor for NP, as in Chomsky's proposal for English raising (1986b:75). If morphological agreement between C and I is missing, as in Romance with the exception of Rumanian, CP is a barrier, and government by V is blocked.

Under these conditions, Modern Greek NP-movement leaves a licit trace for the ECP, in raising, (1b-4b), and passivization, (6b-7b), with no appeal to a reduced or IP-complement structure.<sup>5</sup> The nominative anaphor in (9a) may adjoin to its proper governor (i.e. the higher V-structure) in LF, receiving a treatment parallel to NP-traces (Chomsky 1986a); alternatively, it may be A-bound within the domain defined by the matrix governor, with the ECP playing no role. Last, in ECM, the matrix V assigns case to the embedded subject, under government and strict adjacency: (17b, 19a, 20a).

**2.1.2.** Consider Minimality. First, in (21)  $I^0$  must contain Agreement, Aspect, may contain Tense (depending on the analysis of Subjunctives), and is a head-governor. For instance, it defines the Complete Functional Complex (Chomsky 1986a) where a pronominal must be free, as in (9b), or in *Thélei na phúgei* (= [pro *thélei* [pro *na phúgei*]]), with the readings "He wants to leave" and "He wants him to leave". Also, it may assign Nominative: (1a-4a), etc. However, even though  $I^0$  is a close governor for the NP in (21), it was seen that it does not block government by the matrix V (i.e. Modern Greek is in violation of former Tensed-S and Nominative Island Conditions). The restricted version of Minimality in (23) (Chomsky 1986b) allows the specifier of a maximal projection within a two-bar system to be externally governed by a more remote item than the  $X^0$  heading that projection, and accounts for this situation in part:

- (23) Minimality: In the structure ... A ...[G... D ... B ...], G is a barrier for B, if G is the immediate projection of D, a zero level category distinct from B.

## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

Under (23), the NP in (21) enters a double government relation, allowing pronominals and anaphors in that position to have access to different binding domains, within the spirit of (Huang 1983) and (Chomsky 1986a): anaphors are bound within the domain of the matrix V as governor, while pronominals are free within the complex defined by the governor I.

Second, consider the role of C in the path of coindexation between V and NP in (21). The constructions in 1 fail to show COMP-trace effects, so it must be assumed that C is not a Minimal Governor blocking government by a more remote element external to CP. In particular, presence/absence of phonological content for C is not relevant since Indicative/Subjunctive raising constructions do not differ with respect to Minimality effects, and NP-movement is possible across óti/pos or  $\emptyset$ : (1b) vs. (3b). If C with phonological content functioned as a minimal governor (and see (Chomsky 1986b: 47) for English that-trace effects), NP-movement would be possible only out of Subjunctives, since Indicative óti/pos would be computed in the path, having a blocking effect, while the null Subj complementizer would be inert. That is, different effects of C on Minimality may lead to quite a different array of data, within a system sharing the proposed mechanisms. Standard Rumanian is interesting in this respect; as pointed out by Grosu and Horvath (1984), it prohibits raising out of Indicatives, which must have the complementizer că, and out of Subjunctives when they contain the complementizer ca, but allows NP-movement with null C Subjunctives equivalent to (3b-4b), suggesting a different role for non-null C than the one in the Modern Greek system described here (and see (Rivero 1987) for further discussion).

In Barriers, the intervention of a head-governor blocks any type of more remote government. Instead, Rizzi (1987) proposes a relativized version of Minimality where government is blocked when the closer governor is of the same type as the more remote one, not when they differ (relevant types are head, A, and non-A antecedent government). Extending Rizzi's idea to accommodate the constructions in 1, the transparency of C in Modern Greek follows from the assumption that government by functional categories such as C or I, which do not assign  $\theta$ -roles, is different from government by lexical categories such as V, which assign them. The intervention of the functional governor C does not block government by the lexical category V, allowing satisfaction of the ECP, and the Binding Theory, as discussed. Since strict adjacency is required in ECM, only a null C is possible in such instances, even though the non-null C does not block head-government by V.

The matrix V in NP-movement combines the properties of head and antecedent governor, so it appears possible to assume that C as head-governor does not block antecedent-government by V, accounting for raising, passives, and nominative anaphors with the movement analysis, while keeping within Rizzi's distinctions. However in ECM, the matrix V is a head-governor exclusively, so the blocking effect of a non-null C would require an independent explanation.

2.2. The second aspect behind the patterns in 1 is the Null Subject Parameter, interpreted as Case licensing (Rizzi 1986). For Rizzi (1986), pro is locally licensed through Case-assignment by a designated head; for the subject of finite clauses, pro is licit if Case-marked by INFL. In addition, he has suggested

## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

that in null-subject language, INFL may optionally absorb Case (1982, Ch. IV, Appendix II). I will adopt these two ideas to account for the phenomena in 1, without conflict for Case Theory and/or Visibility.

In the raising and passive constructions in (1b-4b, 6b-7b), Case absorption operates in the lower clause, allowing the formation of a licit, visible A-chain with a Case-marked NP in the matrix as head, and a caseless trace in the embedded subject as foot, where a *th*-role is assigned. It must be assumed that the embedded INFL does not count as an A-position part of the chain, nor an element requiring a *th*-role; in this sense, it is similar to the clitic absorbing Case in clitic doubling. The chain complies with the Case filter and Visibility in the same way as the output of raising out of infinitivals in many languages; in particular, there is no case clash.<sup>6</sup> The embedded subject in these constructions cannot be *pro*, in violation of the *Th*-criterion (two arguments sharing a *th*-role), because its position is not licensed with Case. As Rizzi points out, licensing of *pro* is strictly local, and solely involves the relation with the Case-Marking head; a case provided through chain formation is inconsequential. Under this analysis, NP-movement in Modern Greek must apply if case is not assigned in the lower clause, as it must in English, so that the extraction is not optional, contrary to what the patterns in 1 may suggest at first sight. When Case is assigned by the lower INFL, as in (9a) or with an embedded *pro*, the matrix and embedded NPs are not members of the same A-chain. For ECM, the matrix V assigns Case to the NP, when no Case-assignment to the subject NP operates in the lower clause; again, the process is driven by the Case filter.

To summarize, a) agreement between I and C is instrumental in voiding a CP-IP of its potential barrierhood, achieving CP-transparency without reduction in clausal structure, and b) the properties of I associated with null subjects are behind the formation of licit chains for Case and *Th*-theory.

## MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO

Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Examples are transliterated, not phonemically transcribed. Ita and iota correspond to *ĩ*; omega and omicron appear as *o*.

<sup>3</sup> I differ here from Philippaki-Warburton (1979), who proposes two independent entries in situations like (1a-b).

<sup>4</sup> Notice that these nominative reflexives may be emphatic, but do not have the properties of variables bound to a focus operator in LF.

<sup>5</sup> In my view, Modern Greek provides empirical evidence for extended chains in the theory of barriers, and against seemingly simpler approaches (Fukui and Speas 1986) unable to accommodate the data in section 1.

<sup>6</sup> Then, languages combining null-subject properties and agreeing complementizers may exhibit raising out of finite clauses, with the symptomatic properties familiar from English NP-movement. In (Rivero and Sainz 1986) it is proposed that Mojave, and Basque belong to the same type as Modern Greek and Rumanian in this respect. See (Massam 1985) for interesting discussion and analyses of languages where raising offers more mixed characteristics.

## BARRIERS AND NULL SUBJECTS IN MODERN GREEK

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**MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO**

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